

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 12633 101835Z

66

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 /098 W

----- 074503

R 101547Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7405

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TELAVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 12633

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, XF, UNGA

SUBJECT: SOVIET MFA OFFICIAL DISCUSSES LEBANON AND ME

REF: MOSCOW 11623

1. SUMMARY. AUG 10 CALL BY POL COUNSELOR ON O.A. GRINEVSKIY, DEPUTY CHIEF, NEAR EAST COUNTRIES DIVISION, MFA, PROVIDED FURTHER INDICATIONS OF SOVIET CONCERN OVER LEBANON.

ACCORDING TO GRINEVSKIY, ARAFAT IS STILL IN A STRONG POSITION AS PLO LEADER, DESPITE INTERNAL PLO PROBLEMS AND PALESTINIAN SETBACKS IN LEBANON. KHADDUMI AND ARAFAT ARE "TWO MEN IN ONE BOAT," HE SAID. SOVIETS FEEL IT IS NOW U.S. TURN

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 12633 101835Z

TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS RE OVERALL ME SETTLEMENT, BUT GRINEVSKIY

DOES NOT EXPECT ANY MOVEMENT UNTIL AFTER U.S. ELECTIONS AND UNTIL LEBANESE SITUATION HAS BURNED ITSELF OUT. GRINEVSKIY SAID THAT SYRIAN-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP REMAINED "JUST WHAT IT HAD BEEN" BEFORE TURMOIL IN BEIRUT ENSUED, DESPITE DIFFERENCES OVER PRESENCE OF SYRIAN TROOPS IN LEBANON. HE DID NOT SEE ANY WEAKENING OF ASAD'S INTERNAL POSITION AS A RESULT OF THE LEBANESE INTERVENTION. ON CONTRARY, HE WAS IN DAMASCUS WITH KOSYGIN ON HIS RECENT TRIP THERE AND EVERYTHING LOOKED QUITE NORMAL. GRINEVSKIY TOOK A POSITIVE BUT CAUTIOUS TONE IN ASSESSING SYRIAN-PLO AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, HE EVINced CONSIDERABLE SKEPTICISM THAT WORKABLE CEASE-FIRE WILL TAKE HOLD AND SEEMED TO EXPECT MUCH MORE FIGHTING. ON SYRIAN-IRAQUI RELATIONSHIP, HE SAW NO SIGN OF ANY IMPROVEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. GRINEVSKIY RECAPITULATED SOVIET POLICY PRESCRIPTIONS ON HOW TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION OF THE LEBANESE CIVIL WAR--CEASE-FIRE, TALKS BY LEBANESE PARTIES WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE, AND RESPECT FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF LEBANON. BUT HE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT EVENTS HAD NOT YET RUN THEIR COURSE AND THAT A SOLUTION WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE UNTIL THEY HAD DONE SO. "NOT ALL THE FUEL IS BURNED IN LEBANON," HE SAID. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT FUTURE STRUCTURE OF LEBANESE STATE SINCE WE ARE STILL VERY MUCH IN THE MIDDLE OF A CIVIL WAR AND NO ONE CAN SAY HOW IT WILL END OR WHO WILL BE THE EVENTUAL WINNER. I WANT TO BELIEVE, HE SAID, "THAT INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS SUCH AS THE DECISION OF THE LEAUGE OF ARAB STATES AND THE SYRIAN-PALESTINIAN AGREEMENT WILL HELP STOP BLOODSHED, BUT I AM AFRAID THEY WILL NOT."

3. WHEN ASKED TO COMMENT ON RECENT UPBEAT TONE IN SOVIET PRESS REGARDING SYRIAN-PLO AGREEMENT, GRINEVSKIY REFUSED TO ASSESS IT AS A GOOD THING IN ITSELF. EVERYTHING DEPENDS ON THE RESULTS, HE SAID. "IF IT IS SUCCESSFUL, THEN IT IS GOOD; IF IT FAILS..."
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 12633 101835Z

HIS CLEAR IMPLICATION WAS THAT IT WOULD HAVE NO LASTING EFFECT. ONE DIFFICULTY IN LEBANON, SAID GRINEVSKIY, WAS THAT SO MANY ARAB COUNTRIES WERE TRYING TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE THERE. BUT SINCE THEY ALL HAVE THEIR OWN INTERESTS, THEIR VARIOUS RIVALRIES CAUSE THEIR EFFORTS TO CLASH.

4. GRINEVSKIY CHARACTERIZED SOVIET-SYRIAN RELATIONS

AS COMPLETELY NORMAL, DESPITE DISAGREEMENT OVER PRESENCE OF SYRIAN TROOPS IN LEBANON. IN SOVIET VIEW, PRESENCE OF THESE TROOPS IS NOT HELPFUL. "WE HAVE SPOKEN TO OUR SYRIAN FRIENDS ABOUT THIS." WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE USSR THEREFORE FAVORS COMPLETE AND IMMEDIATE SYRIAN WITHDRAWAL, GRINEVSKIY REPLIED THAT WHEN AND HOW THE TROOPS ARE TO BE WITHDRAWN IS FOR LEBANESE AND SYRIANS TO DECIDE.

5. ASKED ABOUT ARAFAT'S LEADERSHIP POSITION WITHIN PLO, GRINEVSKIY SAID HE HAD HEARD RUMORS OF ARAFAT-KHADDUMI DIFFERENCES, BUT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THEM. "THEY ARE TWO MEN IN SAME BOAT," HE SAID, ADDING THAT WHILE ARAFAT HAD A NUMBER OF INTERNAL PROBLEMS, HE WAS STILL THE MAJOR LEADER AND THERE WAS NO OTHER FIGURE WHO COULD MATCH HIM. ASKED ABOUT THE EFFECT OF THE LEBANESE SITUATION ON THE PLO, GRINEVSKIY SAID WHILE EVENTS FOR LEBANON AND FOR PLO WERE AT A CRITICAL STAGE, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT LONG-RANGE OUTCOME.

6. GRINEVSKIY EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT ANY FORWARD STEPS TOWARD AN OVERALL ME SETTLEMENT WOULD BE POSSIBLE UNTIL AT LEAST THIS WINTER, I.E., AFTER THE U.S. ELECTIONS AND AFTER LEBANON HAD RUN ITS COURSE. "SPEAKING FRANKLY," HE SAID, "WE CONSIDER IT YOUR TURN" TO COME UP WITH SOME IDEA FOR ME NEGOTIATIONS. YOU SUGGESTED INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS; WE REPLIED BY PROPOSING A TWO-STAGE CONFERENCE. NOW IT IS UP TO YOU.

7. POLITICAL COUNSELOR THEN POINTED OUT THAT SOVIET INSISTANCE ON PLO ATTENDANCE EVEN DURING PRELIMINARY PHASES OF DISCUSSIONS WOULD SEEM TO BE AN INSURPERABLE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 12633 101835Z

OBSTACLE TO CONVENING OF MEPC. IT IS NOT EVEN FULLY CLEAR AS TO WHETHER PLO COULD ITSELF FORM A DELEGATION TO SIT DOWN AND NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAELIS. GRINEVSKIY EMPHATICALLY REPLIED THAT IF THEY HAD AN INVITATION IN THE CONTEXT OF GENEVA, PLO WOULD DEFINITELY ATTEND. IT IS ONLY NECESSARY, SAID GRINEVSKIY, FOR U.S. AND SOVIET UNION TO AGREE ON CHANNELS FOR DISCUSSIONS. IF WE CAN SOLVE THAT, THERE ARE NO OTHER PROBLEMS. POLITICAL COUNSELOR AGAIN EVINCED SKEPTICISM. GRINEVSKIY COUNTERED BY NOTING THAT SOVIETS WELL UNDERSTOOD THAT U.S. ELECTION WAS A PROBLEM IN THIS REGARD. PERHAPS TIME WAS THE BEST FACTOR, HE SAID.

8. GRINEVSKIY RAISED POSSIBILITY OF UNGA DEBATE ON LEBANON AND ASKED FOR U.S. VIEWS AT THIS PROSPECT.

POLITICAL COUNSELOR VENTURED PERSONAL OPINION THAT SUCH DEBATE WOULD BE PROPAGANDA EXERCISE AND WOULD NOT ALLOW USEFUL DISCUSSION. LEBANESE POSITION ON UN DISCUSSION WAS UNCLEAR, GRINEVSKIY SAID. FRANJIYEH OR CHAMOUN

MIGHT WELL RAISE THE ISSUE. BUT AFTER SEPT 23 SARKIS WILL BE IN POWER, AND WHAT HE WILL DO IS A QUESTION MARK. "EVERYBODY THINKS OF HIM AS A CAPTIVE OF SYRIA, BUT HE IS FIRST OF ALL A LEBANESE," GRINEVSKIY SAID.

9. COMMENT. WHILE HE DID NOT SAY SO SPECIFICALLY, GRINEVSKIY GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT SOVIETS MAY BE CONSIDERING INITIATIVE ON LEBANON AT NEXT UNGA AND, AT VERY LEAST, ARE PREPARING THEMSELVES FOR DEBATE ON THE SUBJECT.

10. BIO NOTE. GRINEVSKIY IS FORMER DEPUTY CHIEF, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DEPARTMENT, MFA, AND A LONG-TERM DISARMAMENT SPECIALIST WITH NO PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST BEFORE HIS TRANSFER TO HIS PRESENT DUTIES LAST YEAR. HE WORKED ON SALT PREVIOUSLY AND SPOKE OF GOOD RELATIONSHIPS DURING THOSE NEGOTIATIONS WITH AMERICAN COLLEAGUES, MENTIONING BORIS KOSSON AND GRAHAM PARSONS. HE ALSO MENTIONED TALK ON MIDDLE EAST HE HAD WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON LAST WINTER. ALL IN ALL, GRINEVSKIY IS GENTLEMANLY IN DEMEANOR AND SEEMS QUITE APPROACHABLE. WE WILL BE FOLLOWING UP FURTHER WITH HIM. HIS CURRENT RESPONSIBILITIES INCLUDE LEBANON, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 MOSCOW 12633 101835Z

SYRIA AND IRAQ, AS WELL AS OVERALL PLANNING FOR THE MEPC. GRINEVSKIY HAS NEVER SERVED ABROAD, BUT HAS TRAVELLED EXTENSIVELY IN EUROPE, THE U.S. AND THE MIDDLE EAST. STOESEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, LIBERATION FRONTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW12633
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760308-0201
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760869/aaaacicw.tel
Line Count: 205
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 MOSCOW 11623
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <07 SEP 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET MFA OFFICIAL DISCUSSES LEBANON AND ME
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, XF, LE, UNGA, (GRINEVSKIY, O A)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006